NEW AESTHETICS OF MONEY: Walter McQuade

THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 23, 1961 . . 25c

DOES THE DRAFT LAW PLAY FAVORITES?

David L. Holmes, Jr.

●

POWER of the NONALIGNED

Frederick Kuh

●

POLITICAL FUTURE of DR. KING

Bruce M. Galphin

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LETTERS

Troubled by Crime?

Dear Sirs: With Attorney General Robert Kennedy these days casting about for a federal big stick with which to bop the nation-wide crime syndicate, I'd like to recommend a unique program of local action to all towns troubled by crime-syndicate activity. (Towns that have such activity, but are not troubled by it, can ignore this program.)

The plan is quite simple: each troubled town should see to it that one or two top syndicate men move there—not as professionals, but as residents. This will insure a clean town, because syndicate executives are very finicky about where they live. I discovered this recently from a conversation with an old hand on the Chicago Crime Commission. I asked him if Lincolnwood, a plush Chicago suburb, had any syndicate troubles. "Not Lincolnwood," he said. "That's where a lot of the syndicate brass own homes. They wouldn't mess up their own village. They want a nice wholesome place to raise their families."

Maybe other towns can adopt the Lincolnwood Plan.

Evanston, Ill. RICHARD J. MARGOLIS

'Humane' Weapons

Dear Sirs: To George Kauffman, who in your Letters column, Sept. 2 issue, suggests formation of a new "Committee for Non-Nuclear War," I recommend that he forget his idea and go all out in support of one of the many committees for disarmament now in existence. Regardless of its size, a war weapon still serves to destroy another human being. Mr. Kauffman's concern reminds me of a lengthy and "profound" discussion by members of the defunct League of Nations on the issue of defining weapons of "humane" dimensions.

Seattle, Wash. ANCI KOPPEL

Wrong Steer

Dear Sirs: In "The Brass Trumpet" (*The Nation,* Sept. 2), Stanley Meisler states that the Defense Department is planning a film based on the Hoover Report, *Communist Target—Youth.* This conflicts with *The Californian's* advertisement in *The Nation* of Sept. 9, which states that Defense has invalidated the Hoover Report.

I have talked to Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, and he tells me that Meisler is correct and *The Californian's* story is wrong. *The Californian's* story was based on misleading information obtained from Sylvester and two other officials in his office, and he has apologized for this. *The Californian* also apologizes to readers of *The Nation* for this incorrect portion of its advertisement. It was not our fault; the information came straight from the Defense Department.

BURTON H. WOLFE, Editor
San Francisco, Calif. *The Californian*

Time for Showdown

Dear Sirs: Surely the most remarkable thing about Theodore Roszak's article, "Meeting the Soviet Threat" (*The Nation,* Sept. 9), is the omission of any reference to the Soviet offer of total disarmament. Khrushchev has repeatedly said that if the Western powers would accept total disarmament he would agree to any kind of inspection they wanted.

As long as that offer is open, it makes little sense to talk about unilateral disarmament. . . . Our press tries to poohpooh the Soviet offer, but whether it is a bluff or not, our best course is to call it. We have nothing to lose but our generals. CLARK FOREMAN
New York City

A Poet's Truth

Dear Sirs: "The Hell of Smoke" (Jerome Rothenberg, Sept. 9 issue) was a powerful poem; I reread it several times.

Are we witnessing the final drama of man? Is our good earth to become, indeed, a vast complex of "deserts of man"? If so, it is pertinent to ask: what human values—in the words of Theodore Roszak in that same issue—would this "defend"?

THOMAS BRODERICK
Schenectady, N.Y.

Man the Strangler

Dear Sirs: Although I enjoyed reading David Cort's article, "Sex Happiness for All," in your Sept. 2 issue, several impressions Mr. Cort imparts about women are disturbing. He writes: "Most men would agree that [the art of marriage] consists of listening to a woman for several hours without getting tired, and inhibiting the appropriate rational comment on the propositions she enunciates. . . ." I suggest Mr. Cort may gain more insight into the role men play in stifling the development of more interesting female personalities by reading Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex,* wherein is described this typical male attitude—tolerance of women's whims and conversations.

Perhaps when men stop regarding women as objects to be "had" and help them achieve independence and self-realization, they will have truly equal mates and partners in life.

(Mrs.) HELEN TIEGER
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

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The Nation, Sept. 23, 1961. Vol. 193, No. 9

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1961
VOLUME 193, No. 9

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Opinion of Mankind

The Belgrade meeting of nonaligned countries (see page 171) received a poor press hereabouts. One correspondent referred to it as a "motley summit meeting." Several quoted out of context Stalin's aphorism during World War II: "How many divisions has the Pope?" to show that Khrushchev has no respect for anything but military power. In the aftermath of the conference, when Mr. Nehru was sent to Moscow to reason with Mr. Khrushchev, and President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Modibo Keita of Mali to perform the same service in Washington, the American reaction curdled further. A leading theologian, once noted as a liberal, declared there was no such thing as world opinion. A leading radio commentator said, in effect, that while might may not make right, it comes pretty close to it, and since the neutrals have neither military nor economic power, their moral power could safely be ignored.

All this is a far cry from that "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" to which the Founding Fathers paid homage in the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Nor is it a politically sensible attitude, since the Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman foreign-aid programs, however vitiated by the urge to acquire military allies, did manifest some regard for the views and needs of the uncommitted countries, and in the United Nations these countries are now in a position to cause us unlimited embarrassment. Powerful as the United States is, it is not powerful enough to spit on the neutrals with impunity, even if the gesture is combined with a twenty-one gun salute. By resuming nuclear testing, the Soviets have done themselves great damage, however muted neutral resentment may be. It is political idiocy for the United States to engage in a contest of international hooliganism; it is plain horse sense for the United States to show the world that it *is* different, that its traditions retain meaning and vitality, and that it respects the right of peoples to live out their lives in peace.

Throwing Jefferson overboard is not the way to impress the world with our good faith.

The Shelter Racket

The September 15 issue of *Life* is titled, "How You Can Survive Fallout." "Ninety-seven out of 100 people can be saved," a sub-caption reads. "Detail plans for building shelters. *And a letter to you from President Kennedy.*" In a full-page advertisement in the New York *Herald Tribune, Life* shows a figure in "a civilian fallout suit" defying a nuclear blast, and promises to tell you "how to safeguard your family *before* nuclear attack." An "adequate" shelter, *Life* readers will be glad to hear, can be constructed "within four hours by just two men using only a screwdriver and a wrench to bolt together 84 prefabricated pieces." At the end there is a delicate suggestion that *Life* is a good medium to advertise in. The *Saturday Evening Post* is also featuring fallout protection and it, too, does not shrink from calling its wares to the attention of the advertising community.

Thus the greatest campaign of persuasion in the history of American public relations is gaining irresistible headway. It does not matter what the facts are, nor what conclusions the untutored public has reached in the past. What it is going to think in the future — and act on — has already been determined for it. After four years of futile propaganda by the Office of Defense Mobilization, so far, according to the most reliable data available, only 9,000 residential shelters have been built in the entire country. A Gallup poll, reported in the same issue of the *Herald Tribune* in which *Life* promises easy salvation, asked: "If we should happen to get into an all-out nuclear war, what do you think your own chances would be of living through it — very good, poor, or just 50-50?" "Poor," answered 43 per cent. Forty per cent took refuge in "Just 50-50." Nine per cent were euphorics who replied "Very good," and 8 per cent had no opinion. It is a safe bet that, barring a catastrophic breakout of peace, by the middle of 1962 a reverse trend will set in and the optimists will outnumber the pessimists.

It is also a sure thing that shelter stocks will boom and the public will invest its money in concrete blocks, Geiger counters, canned water, excretion-containers and

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deodorants, battery-operated radios and all the other paraphernalia required to make nuclear war acceptable. The power elites have decided and the media obey, patriotically and to the benefit of their balance sheets. With some lag, the majority of citizens will obey the media. In the downtown metropolitan sections, they may suspect that blast alone will be their quietus, followed by fire: radiation will not matter one way or the other. In the suburbs, however, eternal hope will spring, and shelter construction will restore the lagging home-construction industry to the heights of prosperity.

If the shelters should be used, some may get a lower dosage than they would have received had they stayed in their living rooms (assuming there was still a roof over and not on their heads). And then what? What will they eat when the canned goods give out? What will they drink? In an address at a symposium on radioecology at Colorado State University, Dr. John N. Wolfe of the AEC pointed out that whenever man's environment has become incompatible with his existence, he has had to migrate or perish. This time there will be no place to go.

The Speakership

Burdened by the weight of years and recent illness, "Mr. Sam" is about to retire. He hasn't acknowledged this—indeed, he has implied the contrary—but the fact is clear: whenever he leaves Washington while Congress is still in session, it means that he is very tired. "Mr. Sam" has been around so long that he has become a political landmark; all of us feel as though we have known him for most of our adult lives as, indeed, we have. He is very much the "old shoe" type; no fancy trimmings for him, and the less rhetoric the better. Some of his colleagues were talking up the idea of a gold medal for him, but he will have none of it. He is right. He doesn't need any props or ornaments; the vivid image that most of us have of him—weather-beaten visage, bald pate, twangy voice, armed with a mighty gavel—will remain his finest memorial.

But with changing times, new leadership is demanded. It is not entirely Mr. Rayburn's fault that the lukewarm and often unreliable support which the House, as compared with the Senate, gave to the President's proposals, accounts in part for the New Frontier's failure to achieve its major legislative goals. True, the Democrats had lost twenty-one seats in the House. But the brute fact remains that Mr. Rayburn had difficulty in rallying the support of his own Texas delegation, many members of which, on key issues, deserted the Administration. The House, not the Senate, is today the bastion of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. And the House will be even more important after the 1962 Congressional election, which will be based, of course, on the important 1960 reapportionment.

Of those mentioned as successor to Mr. Rayburn, Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.) is, by any reckoning, the brightest prospect. He is young (forty-five), has served in Congress since 1949, and has won high marks not only from his colleagues but from social scientists for his expert grasp of the business of the House. In wishing "Mr. Sam" well in his retirement, we would that it were in our power to wave Mr. Bolling in as his successor. The Missourian would make an admirable Speaker and would give the Administration the type of leadership it will need in the next session if it is to fashion a winning record for the 1962 election.

Their Finest Hour

Historically, the British are the unmatched martyr-makers of the world. Beginning with Joan of Arc (although no doubt she had predecessors) they have produced martyrs with tireless regularity, sometimes killing them, sometimes merely throwing them in prison, but always managing to give them a maximum of publicity. With the liquidation of Her Majesty's Empire, it may have seemed that martyr production might become a dying industry, but the imprisonment of Bertrand Russell and Lady Russell shows that the British are still without peers in the business of making the government look as stupid and tyrannical as possible.

The Russell *cause célèbre* began at a meeting of the Committee of 100, a group which organizes sit-downs in protest against nuclear war. A number of plainclothesmen managed to smuggle themselves into the meeting, in accordance with the recognized tradition that before there can be martyrs, there must be spies, stoolpigeons or *provocateurs*. At the meeting, plans were made for a demonstration in Parliament Square on Sunday, September 17. Without waiting for the demonstration, Her Majesty's Government proceeded against the Russells and some thirty other plotters for peace. Hailed before the magistrate, Lord Russell, who is not without experience in acquiring martyrdom, refused to promise to keep the peace, i.e., to help promote the war, and "be of good behavior for twelve months." "If you condemn us," he told the magistrate, "you will be helping our cause and thereby helping humanity."

When the magistrate sentenced the eighty-nine-year-old philosopher to two months in jail for incitement to a breach of the peace there were cries of "Shame!" "Fascist!" "Poor old man!" etc. The court thereupon tempered justice with mercy and reduced the sentence to seven days. Lord Russell was led away with Lady Russell, who is serving the same sentence. Three other members of the Committee of 100 were sent to jail for two months and twenty-seven for one month.

From London, Drew Middleton wrote in *The New York Times* (September 13): "The sentences shocked liberal opinion in Britain, including many persons who

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had little sympathy with either the Committee of 100 or the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Many intellectuals consider Lord Russell the greatest living Englishman." If the collective insanity now in full swing comes to its culmination, the non-intellectuals will be just as rapidly incinerated as the intellectuals, and in the few seconds of consciousness before they cease to exist they, too, may consider him a great Englishman. In the meantime, Her Majesty's Government has unwittingly furthered the cause of nuclear disarmament, and the indispensable role of martyrdom in human affairs has once more been demonstrated.

Mr. Lawrence's Rubicon

In the September 11 New York *Herald Tribune,* David Lawrence begins his weekday jeremiad with the ominous words: "The Kennedy Administration has crossed the Rubicon. It has decided to make war on conservative economics. . . . President Kennedy has determined to put certain limits on business profits. . . . The net result could be the gradual collapse of the private-enterprise system in America and the beginning of that era of socialism which Nikita Khrushchev has predicted will inevitably lead to communism in another generation in the United States."

What have the President and his impractical theorists done? Nationalized the munitions industries, perhaps? Limited incomes to $25,000 a year? Appointed Walter Reuther to the presidency of General Motors? Nothing very radical, actually, and other columnists have given it scarcely any notice. The President merely wrote the top executives of twelve steel companies, urging them to keep prices level after the wages of their employees rise October 1, in accordance with existing union contracts. A price boost, the President said, "could shatter the price stability which the country has now enjoyed for some time." In military procurement alone, a steel price increase of $4 to $5 a ton could increase annual costs by half a billion. At his last news conference, Mr. Kennedy added that his economic advisers — the "impractical theorists" — had informed him the companies could pay higher wages without having to raise prices.

The usual pattern of Presidential leadership has been to wait till the damage has been done, then to intervene or deplore, and let it go at that. Mr. Kennedy has been more forehanded. That his proposal should not sit well with the stockholders of the steel companies is easy enough to understand. But when Mr. Lawrence warns that the free-enterprise system can be wrecked — "quickly," yet — if the government starts setting profit margins, he seems to be letting his imagination run wild. No profit margins have been set. Steel, nevertheless, occupies a central role in the economy. Steel prices affect every other industry and an increase in the price of steel hits the pocketbook of every American. Mr. Kennedy has done no more than his duty by pointing this out and enjoining prudence on the steel companies — a prudence which they have not shown on similar occasions in the past.

POWER of the NONALIGNED . . *by Frederick Kuh*

Washington

THE twenty-five nonaligned governments that met at Belgrade early this month wrote to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev: "We take the liberty of urging on the Great Powers concerned that negotiations should be resumed and pursued so that the danger of war might be removed." In private conversations at Belgrade, the conference's sponsors told me that a measure of the meeting's success or failure rests in part on the answers to this joint appeal. Here is how one of the principal movers behind the conference put it:

"Two heavyweights get into a clinch. Whoever first wriggles out of it must step backwards. That looks like weakness. We've made it possible for Kennedy and Khrushchev, with minimal embarrassment or loss of face, to climb down a little—even if only in generalities as a starter. Their replies to our letters could indicate their readiness to compromise.

"It is much easier on their prestige to direct such a statement to a Third Force than to the opposing side."

AS THIS is written, a draft of President Kennedy's reply has already been prepared. It proclaims America's eagerness to make peace, but insists on prior use of diplomatic channels to ascertain whether a Summit meeting offers a reasonable promise of agreement on Berlin and other East-West conflicts. [Diplomatic conversations have now begun at the U.N. — Ed.] It argues that the United States has a definite commitment to the people of West Berlin; that their life depends on unmolested access to the city, and that the United States is going to negotiate in a manner that postulates such access.

Further, the draft expresses regret that the Soviets have resumed nuclear testing, and makes clear that a test-ban treaty providing for adequate inspection would be a significant step forward which should not be sidetracked into the larger complex of general and complete disarmament.

A preview of this draft was given

FREDERICK KUH covered the Belgrade conference of neutrals for the Chicago Sun-Times.

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orally last week by Kennedy to two distinguished visitors, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Keita of Mali, who arrived at the White House as emissaries of the Belgrade conference. Neither of the visitors challenged Kennedy at any point in his exposition, nor did they attempt to defend the Soviet position.

THE STREAM of history is flowing toward East-West negotiations regardless of any neutralist letters and irrespective of two-man delegations to the White House or the Kremlin. So the leaders of the uncommitted world, in appealing for such negotiations, would appear to be betting on a certainty. And when the United States, Britain, France and the Soviets sit down to talk things over, the neutralists can claim credit for bringing the two sides together.

Even if such a claim leaves the politically sophisticated unimpressed, it contains a crumb of truth. The nonaligned do indeed represent a group which Messrs. Kennedy and Khrushchev could use to start deelectrifying the warlike atmosphere.

Mr. Kennedy has already shown good sense in his approach to the Belgrade conference, having sent a warm and friendly message which was read publicly at the plenary session. Delegates remarked on the contrast between this gesture and the neutralism-is-immoral hostility with which Eisenhower and Dulles completely ignored the 1955 Bandung conference, attended by many of the same countries.

The United States and Soviet Union would throw themselves for a calamitous loss if either fails to take the nonaligned group into account, even though on balance the conference was more favorable to the Sino-Soviet bloc than to the American-led camp. After all, the nonaligned represented one-fourth of the earth's inhabitants and a quarter of the total U.N. membership. And, despite its ugliness, the conflict over Berlin is a minor episode, while the struggle between the two blocs for allegiance of the uncommitted world is a pivotal and long-term manifestation of our age.

How does the neutralist conference in Belgrade look in retrospect? What were its advantages or disadvantages for Washington and Moscow? What was its value, if any for the neutralist countries themselves?

The five-day meeting yielded a negative success to the West and another to the Communist camp. First, the negative Western victory.

The governments participating were on the verge of calling upon the world to acknowledge the existence of two German states; indeed, recognition of the reality of the two Germanys was written into the conference's Declaration until the last moment. The draft also urged guarantees for the Western powers' unhampered access to Berlin, and called for peaceful solution of the German problem within the frontiers provisionally established at the 1945 Potsdam Conference (in other words, confirmation of the permanence of the Oder-Neisse frontier).

The last-minute elimination of the "two Germanys" article was a victory for Adenauer's Germany and a stinging blow to Walter Ulbricht's East German regime, which went to immense lengths to win the conference's good will. (Ulbricht had fanned out his top diplomats, dispatching three deputy foreign ministers to Yugoslavia, to Asia and to West Africa with letters from himself to the neutralist leaders.)

The omission was also a defeat for Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, with their stake in keeping Germany divided; and, by the same token, it was a corresponding advantage for the Kennedy Administration and its allies, with their policy of non-recognition of the East German government.

Soviet bloc ambassadors in Belgrade admitted defeat on the issue, but tried to salvage hope from the many speeches at the conference declaring that the existence of two Germanys is one of the facts of life.

Who killed cockrobin? It was above all the Arab states which insisted that the two-Germanys doctrine be dropped from the Declaration. The reasons were twofold: (1) the Arab world was unwilling to jeopardize the rich flow of West German capital, economic aid and trade into its area; (2) the Arabs feared that West Germany would retaliate by recognizing Israel, a decision from which Adenauer has shrunk in deference to Arab hatred of the Jewish state.

THE SOVIETS' negative victory at Belgrade was the fact that they were not condemned for having resumed nuclear testing. By announcing the decision to test thirty-six hours before the Belgrade gathering began, Khrushchev was not only trying to make the neutralists' flesh creep, but was dealing them a contemptuous slap in the face. The Soviet government expected the conference to react sharply. It didn't.

While several speakers expressed "shock" at the development, and particularly at its timing, most of the heads of state and government ignored it. One of the conference's three original sponsors — Marshal Tito—combined a mild expression of surprise with a quasi-defense of Moscow's brutal step. Tito told the conference: "We could understand the reasons adduced by the government of the USSR."

If Tito was surprised by the Kremlin's defiance of world sentiment, the Soviet government was most pleasurably astonished by getting off so lightly. On the other hand, the Soviets suffered a serious reverse by the conference's refusal to support the *troika*: that is, the Soviets' year-old effort to replace the U.N. Secretary-General by a three-headed body composed of one Communist, one Westerner and one neutral, each swinging the veto.

However, the Soviets were never attacked throughout the five-day conclave, whereas the Western colonial powers took a terrific beating. France and Portugal in particular were rhetorically torn to shreds. The United States also got its comeuppance in the final Declaration. Maintenance of military bases in foreign countries against their will was condemned. But amid many nations' retention of such facilities around the globe, the only one singled out for specific condemnation was the U.S. base at Guantanamo.

The participating countries declared their belief "that the right of Cuba . . . freely to choose its own

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political and social system . . . should be respected." This was the one noteworthy prize which Cuban President Dorticos was able to carry back to Cuba. Otherwise he was mostly an outsider, owing to a behavior pattern which Lenin would have diagnosed as a children's disease of communism: radicalism at any price. For instance, at a secret sitting of the conference's drafting committee, lasting until five in the morning of September 5, Dorticos fought bitterly to erase one sentence from the neutralists' letter to President Kennedy. The passage—after mentioning the present war peril—acknowledged that Mr. Kennedy "is as anxious as any of us to avoid this dreadful development."

Dorticos told the closed committee session that U.S. "warlike preparations" hardly justify such a tribute to Mr. Kennedy's love for peace. But none of the other twenty-four delegations supported his demand.

ALTHOUGH success on the German issue slipped from its fingers at the last moment, the Soviet-Chinese bloc came out well ahead in Belgrade.

The numerous participating countries which recognize Communist China recommended that the U.N. Assembly, at its forthcoming session, "should accept the representatives of the government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of that country in the United Nations." They thus not only demanded the seating of Red China, but called for expulsion of Nationalist China. So nineteen of the twenty-five conference participants rejected the "two Chinas" platform which President Kennedy regards as America's fall-back position.

Despite an absence of backing for the Soviets' *troika,* the conference moved further in an anti-Western direction by a demand for sweeping reform of the United Nations. It pointed to the need for "a more appropriate structure for the Secretariat" and urged enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council to make room for the new nations.

On disarmament, it adopted the Soviet ritual of calling for "general, complete disarmament" with inspection.

On top of these gains for Moscow came the greatest plus of all. Abetted by the resistance of some powers to the historical process of decolonization, the Russians reaped the reward of Lenin's policy of wedding communism to anti-colonialism.

Pandit Nehru's major effort to transform the conference from a crusade against colonialism into an anti-war rally was a partial failure. He succeeded in having the neutralists dispatch their peace appeals to Messrs. Kennedy and Khrushchev; he won passage of a short, separate resolution pleading for avoidance of war; he managed to insert in the preamble of the final Declaration a few sentences on the same anti-war lines. But he was utterly unable to induce the conference to subordinate anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racialism.

Events in Algeria, Angola, Bizerte, Cuba and West Irian are so pregnant with emotion for most of the neutralists that they scorned Nehru's eloquent bid to put all this aside and concentrate on pulling humanity back from the brink. The threatening Berlin conflict, even the resumption of nuclear testing, were for most of the delegates less urgent than eradicating the remnants of colonialism.

NEHRU WAS deeply dissatisfied with the conference, and not only because his effort to change its character largely misfired. Underlying his distaste for the gathering was his unwillingness to align India even with the nonaligned.

If Nehru was frustrated, so too was the one-third of the conference composed of Arab states. They fought hard for a paragraph in the Declaration which would have branded Israel as an outpost of Western imperialism. Ceylon and Burma, which entertain fruitful relations with the Jewish state, blocked this attempt with Nehru's help. The Declaration dismissed the Arabs' ploy in four and one-half lines, merely condemning some unidentified imperialist policies in the Mideast and asking vaguely for restoration of the Palestine Arabs' rights.

High American diplomats were thrown off balance by Marshal Tito's speech at the conference; the entire proceedings were eclipsed by their furious anger at the Yugoslav President's statement. Their objections were focused primarily on Tito's strong demand for recognition of two Germanys without any corresponding mention of Allied rights of tenure in West Berlin and of access to that city. The Americans justifiably protested that by this omission Tito had gone farther than Khrushchev in his anti-Westernism.

However, U.S. authorities might have expected something like this, remembering that Yugoslavia was alone among the twenty-five participating governments in having given full legal recognition to the Communist East German regime.

It hardly helped Tito with the Kennedy Administration that he also spoke words of understanding for the Soviets' nuclear-test resumption and alluded disdainfully to those who "make a fetish" of disarmament control.

Tito went too far in his softness towards the Soviets to suit even his own official family, whom he embarrassed. They were especially anxious lest by his excesses he may have marred the relatively friendly relations between America and Yugoslavia. A top member of the Yugoslav government explained Tito's speech in this way: Yugoslav intelligence indicated that Khrushchev is under powerful pressure by the Soviet military lobby; in this predicament, it was essential for the neutralists to avoid shaking the Soviet Premier's position.

In fact, though, there is a more subtle and cogent interpretation of Tito's demeanor. It is that since breaking away from Moscow more than thirteen years ago, Communist Yugoslavia feels more free to march in step with the Soviets because she cannot be accused of being a Kremlin satellite.

If Tito's speech was a blunder and may have provoked a few snorts in the State Department, nevertheless history will not remember it. As far as he is concerned, what will live on is his triumph in bringing to Belgrade the chiefs of state and government of

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the uncommitted world and of sealing Yugoslavia's membership in that important group.

THE BELGRADE conference produced disappointments and weaknesses.

It failed to present a single concrete proposal for solving any of the international conflicts plaguing mankind. Its final Declaration was verbose, woolly and mainly platitudinous. If NATO and the Sino-Soviet bloc are struggling against internal strains, the nonaligned camp is riddled with divergencies. A band of some six moderate participating governments, led by Nehru, was midway between reactionaries like Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Sheikh Ibrahim Sowayel of medieval Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, and the revolutionaries of Cuba, Ghana, Guinea and Mali on the other.

Many of the participating governments have had negligible experience in international life. Some —especially the African states—are too immersed in parochial problems to see the large world horizon.

And yet: the conference has important achievements to its credit.

Until now a number of the smaller new nations have been wandering aimlessly in the rain and lightning of a dangerous world. These orphans have found a warm, comforting shelter under the roof of the nonaligned group.

The uncommitted world is growing and is exerting magnetism. Until lately it was limited to Asia and Africa. Now suddenly Europe—through Yugoslavia and Cyprus—has wedged itself into the community. And Latin America—through the Cuban delegation and the observers of Brazil, Bolivia and Ecuador—has also established a foothold.

Finally, even if today it is merely a glint: the birth of a Third Force (not, the neutralists keep saying, another bloc) does create a cushion between the two giants. True, one delegate did remark skeptically, "How can we hope to safeguard peace between East and West when we can't even prevent Portugal from massacring the Angolans?" Nevertheless, here is a new, important moral factor in world affairs. The United States and the Soviet Union can disregard it only at their peril.

Does the Draft Law Play Favorites?. . *David L. Holmes, Jr.*

TO MEET the Soviet threat on Berlin, President Kennedy has requested increased defense expenditures and the addition of 217,000 men to the nation's Armed Forces. Sacrifices have been asked of all Americans. What the coming days will hold is unclear, but once again it seems certain that the major sacrifices will be those made by a relatively few draft-age youths who, under the provisions of an obsolete Selective Service System, will be forced to carry the burden of military duty for their more fortunate fellows.

Although some half-million American males enter the Armed Forces each year, over six million others between the ages of 18½ and 26 have never been on active duty or served in the reserves. Even with the increased draft calls of the coming months, something less than 40 per cent of them will ever put on a uniform.

The causes of this situation lie in an ever-increasing manpower supply. American military strength is down one million from its level at the end of the Korean War. Due to decreased service needs and the coming to draft age of the World War II baby crop, the pool of available youths has expanded to six million. From this pool 400,000 annually enlist, thereby satisfying the replacement needs of the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps. Since 1956 (when the Navy gave up its brief use of the draft), only the Army has been compelled to resort to the draft for additional manpower. Over the past few years its calls to Selective Service have averaged 100,000 men a year.

Faced with choosing an annual total of 100,000 from a manpower pool of over six million (and the pool grows yearly by more than a million) the Army and Selective Service have made every attempt to find reasons *not* to accept registrants. A bewildering complex of deferments—a misnomer for exemptions in the cold-war context—has gradually grown up. The Army has ruled that certain registrants are unacceptable. Selective Service has decided that others are draft-exempt. Much of this exempting has been done under the banner of "the national good," but in actuality it has been dominated by considerations of expediency and thrift. Few of the deferments make more than a bow in the direction of equity. When examined, almost all are found to be unjustifiable.

4-F: Registrants who would have been accepted for infantry duty in World War II or Korea are now frequently rejected. From 35.8 per cent at the peak of World War II, the 4-F rate has risen until today one out of every two men examined for induction is rejected as 4-F.

This high rate is the result of several considerations. Since 1956, the Army has reaped the advantages of being the sole buyer in a buyer's market. No longer in need of accepting the first man sent along by Selective Service, it has chosen only the very best of the draft-age youths available. In addition, it has rigidly interpreted the word "fit" to mean "fit for combat." Physical standards have continually been raised. Medical risks and borderline psychiatric cases have been rejected, since illness or remedial treatment of servicemen during active duty costs money—an omnipresent consideration—and impairs combat readiness. Although

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four out of five members of the military establishment are engaged in the feeding, transporting, supplying and administering of front-line troops, the Army has established no induction category for limited duty. Its induction policies have been dominated by a psychology of the Battle of the Bulge, where typists and kitchen personnel were called out to fight.

This choosiness has led to scandalous inequities. Findings of 4-F have been especially common among athletes. "Trick" knees, weak ankles and back injuries have caused the rejection from military service of many college and professional football players. Home-run hitter Mickey Mantle is only one example of the 4-Fs currently active in professional baseball: his osteomyelitis has made him unfit for military service. There are many similar cases.

Mental standards have also been raised. In 1957, the Army inaugurated a policy intended to end the enlistment of all youths with mental aptitudes in the lower quarter of the national average and to severely cut down on their drafting. The discriminatory character of this policy is obvious, since some 30 per cent of all draft registrants fall into this category. The personnel who in the past have made the best truck drivers and combat soldiers are being denied entrance into the cold-war Army. Their places are being taken by draft registrants fortunate enough—or, in this instance, unfortunate enough—to have higher intelligence quotients.

Although a 1959 Selective Service survey revealed that 86 per cent of all registrants classified 4-F by the Armed Forces live perfectly normal lives, in the manpower-rich United States these citizens are ruled unfit for military service. A military rejection rate unapproached by any other nation in the world continues to operate in the United States.

FATHERHOOD DEFERMENT: A 1956 Presidential directive virtually exempted fathers and fathers-to-be from the draft. Under this directive, local boards are required to exhaust their pool of childless men between 19 and 26 before dipping into the pool of fathers in the same age group. Since the low post-Korea draft calls have permitted an almost inexhaustible backlog of single and childless men to grow up, the ruling has had its intended effect of making fathers a contemporary form of the Untouchables. Financial considerations outweighed concern for the national welfare. Today, a draft-age father without prior military service cannot even *enlist* in any of the services.

At the time of its inception, the deferment of fathers was explained as a reluctance on the part of the government to disturb family life or the national welfare. In reality, the ruling had its basis in two other and less worthy considerations. First, the huge manpower surplus was becoming an increasing embarrassment, and some action had to be taken to lower the number of eligible men in it; second, and more important, drafting men with dependents is a troublesome and expensive business. Soldiers' wives and children cause problems of morale and housing, and their allotments must be paid out of a tight Army budget. With an enormous supply of manpower in existence, it proved easier and cheaper simply to take only single men.

Not even the roughest sort of justice, of course, is promulgated in the deferment of fathers and married men. Ever since reaching 18 and registering with his draft board, every American youth has known that a military obligation would be very much a part of his life until at least his twenty-sixth birthday. If some have chosen to marry before that age and to have children, the government should not reward them with a draft exemption and penalize those who have remained single or childless. The policy jeopardizes the lives and careers of males who have been unable to marry for economic reasons or, once married, to have children for physical ones. Among newlyweds, it has fostered a very cynical employment of what could be called Washington roulette—if a child is on the way, the draft eligibility is canceled. The ruling may be expedient, but in a democratic society it is unjustifiable.

26-OR-OUT: Under the so-called "26-or-out" provision, put into effect at the same time as the fatherhood deferment, any draft registrant may avoid military service entirely if he is able to reach his twenty-sixth birthday without being inducted.

This policy change is not well known. Formerly, any registrant who received a deferment prior to his twenty-sixth birthday could be (and usually was) drafted at any time up to his thirty-fifth birthday. Since 1956, however, registrants who reach twenty-six without being inducted automatically become the *least* rather than the most eligible for call by local boards. Indeed, under present conditions, the Army will not accept an inductee from Selective Service who has attained his twenty-sixth birthday.

Purportedly, this policy had its source in Pentagon dissatisfaction with the training potential and duty performance of the post-25 draftee. There is, of course, some justification for this attitude. But far more basic is the fact that here is another disguised method of controlling the unwieldy manpower pool. By dropping 26-year-olds from the top to the bottom of the manpower pool, a certain number of registrants could be siphoned out of the surplus each year, and the average age of inductees—which by 1956 was approaching 24—could be somewhat lowered.

Again, no apparent thought of justice entered into the consideration. Today, the possibilities of avoiding the draft under the "26-or-out" ruling are limited only by a registrant's shrewdness and finances. The directive exempts a registrant from service if he reaches age 26 *by any method;* it does not require that he *complete* the studies or *remain* in

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the draft-free occupation that have enabled him to reach 26 without being drafted. Since the average draft age is now 23—and in many areas higher—the policy opens countless exemption routes. Upon graduation from high school or college, a draft-eligible youth may secure one of the many jobs deemed to be "in the national interest" (much recruiting of scientific and engineering graduates is done by American business with the enticement of draft deferment). At 26, the registrant may quit and seek other employment. He is now too old to be drafted and, in the interval, he may also have secured a wife and child.

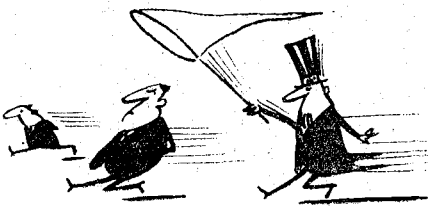
Alternatively, when Selective Service threatens, one can enter graduate school or begin a delayed college education. Due to the manpower oversupply, almost every local board will defer a man who is working full time for an undergraduate or graduate degree, regardless of whether it is in business administration, physics or Sanskrit. Nor will they check to make sure he completes his academic program. A registrant who enters law school at 24 to avoid an imminent draft, for example, but who drops out the day after his twenty-sixth birthday, will not be called. Neither will a divinity student who decides at 26 against the ministry and enters secular employment.

Through this ruling, the wealthy or academically beneficed are enabled to escape the draft entirely, while the less fortunate take their places. And lest it be argued that advanced education helps the nation as much as military duty by the same person, it should be noted that the "26-or-out" ruling exempts from military service precisely the kind of specialist the Army needs — the individual who holds a Ph.D., for example, in electrical engineering.

A final matter should be noted. The Selective Service System constantly stresses that registrants who have attained 26 without being drafted are not "exempted" from military service, but merely "deferred." That is to say, their military obligation has simply been postponed, and in a time of national emergency they can and will be called. But, in time of national emergency, *everyone* will be called and, as in the past, veterans and reservists will precede those who have never served.

OTHER DEFERMENTS: There are a number of other means by which a youth may legally avoid the draft, and some of them are even justifiable. Hardship cases—cases in which induction would work an adversity on a family materially or emotionally dependent on a registrant—are considered valid reasons for deferment. An imbalance occurs where local boards tend to include childless married men in the hardship category due to their reluctance to break up any kind of family.

Individuals employed in industries deemed vital to the national welfare



are exempted. (As previously noted, however, there is nothing to prevent them from quitting their jobs upon reaching fatherhood or age 26.) Registrants with a critical skill are exempted, or, in other cases, placed upon active duty for only three months and then transferred to the inactive reserve. All priests, rabbis and ministers are safe from involuntary duty. So, too, are divinity students. (Again it must be noted that once the divinity student is 26, no check is made on whether he enters the clergy or not; the writer knows a number of ex-candidates for the ministry, at least one of whom is now a ranting atheist, who have successfully avoided the draft by attaining 26 in seminary.)

One of the brighter spots in the picture is perhaps the deferment of members of the teaching profession. Under present conditions, virtually all teachers and college instructors are safe from the draft. In this way many college graduates who would otherwise have chosen a different occupation are encouraged each year to enter teaching. Again, however, their motives are often cynical, and many leave for greener pastures after having attained fatherhood or their twenty-sixth year.

Finally, other exemptions are granted to elective officials, certain government employees, farmers and members of subversive organizations. Selective Service has not yet decided whether to grant exemption from the draft to registrants who successfully complete Peace Corps service.

THUS the burden of the cold-war draft falls on the single or childless married man who has been unable for financial or personal reasons to qualify for one of the many deferments available. Since 1956, some 35 per cent of the draft-age populace have carried the military burdens of the entire population with no more compensation than a five-point preference on civil-service examinations and a free casket flag upon death. They have served in such remote and potentially dangerous outposts as Korea, Alaska, Greenland, Okinawa and Berlin. Some have been shot down by Russian aircraft; others have been killed during maneuvers or in the accidents of military life. Many have missed important civilian opportunities due to military service or have had personal lives utterly disrupted. Most have suffered a loss in earnings during their terms of service of at least $4,000. All have returned home several years older to find the majority of their fellows virtually exempted from all thoughts of the draft. And they have returned, moreover, to serve out an additional obligation of four to six years in the reserves. In the event of a future Korea-type conflict, it is precisely these cold-war veterans who would be among the first to be recalled to active duty. Some are already being called up for Berlin.

What is most amazing is that peacetime conscription, so alien to the American tradition, has been permitted by the public to go on in such a totally inequitable manner. Democracy, which implies equal obligations as well as equal rights, has been openly flouted by the Pentagon and Selective Service without objection. The Eisenhower administration —and now apparently that of President Kennedy—have considered the draft policies just. Preoccupied with

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Russia, the American public has been too unaware of the facts and too concerned with defense of any kind to protest. The six million youths who have never been called to service have wisely kept silent. The cold-war draftee has written to his Congressman.

It is Congress which has the power to change the policies of a Selective Service System that has become morally bankrupt. As a start, it could pass the "Cold-War G.I. Bill," which it has had before it for six years. Stopped from passage during the Eisenhower administration by threat of Presidential veto, this legislation provides low-interest home loans, vocational rehabilitation for servicemen disabled during cold-war duty, and monthly grants of $110 to $160, depending on the number of dependents, to those cold-war servicemen who undertake college or vocational training. Its passage would insure that cold-war veterans would receive some compensation for the time and opportunities they lost in service—precisely the basis of the World War II and Korean G.I. bills. Although it would come too late for the millions who have entered the Armed Forces since January, 1955, when Eisenhower canceled the Korean G.I. Bill, those leaving the service in 1961 would have their well-earned opportunity in front of them, and some others previously separated would seize the chance.

But this should only be the beginning. The basic solution lies in changing the entire system—either by abolishing the draft entirely or returning to the lottery system which formed the basis of the first peacetime draft of 1940.

Termination of the draft at present Armed Forces strength and reenlistment levels would be difficult, but not impossible. Implementation of the Cordiner Committee's proposals for higher military pay and fringe benefits, and those of Representative Frank Kowalski for more efficient employment of military personnel, would insure higher re-enlistment rates. In addition, passage of a "Cold-War G.I. Bill" would act as a tremendous incentive for enlistments. Since the draft rate prior to the Berlin crisis had remained steady at about 100,000 a year, the G.I. Bill might even make the draft no longer necessary.

BUT IF conscription must continue, the use of a national lottery—as John Graham has suggested in a paper written for The Fund for the Republic—would be far more in keeping with the current manpower situation and the American tradition of fair play. Selection of inductees by lot from among all draft-age males, with exemptions from registration granted only to specialized students, hardship cases and registrants with extreme physical, mental or moral disabilities, would end all hypocritical pretenses to a universal draft. Since all American youths would undergo the same risk of induction, the protests of those so selected would hardly be legitimate. The entitlement to veterans' benefits upon separation, moreover, would act as an indemnification.

To finance the G.I. Bill, a token tax of $200—representing perhaps one-twentieth of the average loss in earnings suffered during service by a draftee—could be levied on all unhandicapped registrants who, by 26, escape the draft entirely. Ample precedent for such a tax exists in the fines imposed by colonial militia on males absent from training, and —however faulty their administration—in the Civil War policies of both the North and the South. Switzerland, with attempts to enforce an equitable military obligation, enacts a similar tax on all citizens excused from militia service.

When, as now, only a small percentage of the available manpower must give two or more years of their lives to an unwanted and unprofitable military duty, it would seem only proper to a democracy that a correlative obligation be placed on those who remain behind.

The cause is urgent. Revision of the draft is long overdue. The cold-war draftee feels he has a legitimate grievance. For if military service is an obligation of citizenship, then millions of American males are today being rewarded for ignoring their duty.

POLITICAL FUTURE of DR. KING . . *by Bruce M. Galphin*

A LEITMOTIV of Southern politics for some decades has been the lament that Dixie has lost its voice in national party councils. The prayers for deliverance from this obscurity follow ancient rituals of imprecation and gesture, like a rain dance.

Now, in one of those twists which make politics ever unpredictable, the prayers are about to be answered — after a fashion. The South is likely soon to return to political prominence, and a Southerner may well become a decisive influence in national affairs; but the manner in which all this is to come about may send the Southern shamans scrambling to their altars to dispatch amended petitions to the Almighty.

For the potential savior of Southern political influence — albeit not "Southern politics" — is not a lone white knight but is colored, and some five million strong.

The South's Negroes are the largest single untapped reservoir of voting strength in the nation. Registered and voting cohesively, they can alter the course of events not only below the Mason-Dixon line, but throughout the nation. They can force a realignment of politics along more clearly defined liberal-conservative lines, and they can shatter decisively the tottering dinosaur-Democrat pterodactyl-Republican coalition in Congress.

Needless to say, any man who

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could unite and guide these potential voters would become a powerful arbiter of party platforms, patronage and legislation.

It is too early to say that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has become such a leader, or even wants to; but it is already certain that he is the fulcrum of the coming upheaval in Southern politics. It may be that he will decide (as he clearly has *not* decided yet) to enter the party hustings openly, rather than to prompt from the wings. Or it may be that the South's white politicians, many of whom are far more flexible and far less committed to the eighteenth century than is generally realized in the North, will seize the initiative and provide their own leadership.

Whoever the leader or leaders, though, the change is coming, and the new political body will not remain headless for long.

THE POTENCY of an organized Negro voting bloc is no untested theory, of course. It has been preached for years by the NAACP. It has been demonstrated time and again in fiercely competitive two-party races in industrial states and even in a few Southern cities, such as Atlanta and Memphis. Without the Negro vote in key states last fall, John Kennedy would not now be wearing his paper-thin mantle of victory. The Negro vote has made scores of Senators, Congressmen and governors vociferously civil-rights conscious; and it has won an amount of attention far beyond its proportionate size.

But not since Reconstruction days, when it was cynically manipulated, has the Negro vote counted for much in state-wide races in Dixie. For decades, its impotence could be blamed on white primaries, Ku Kluxism and lack of education. Even today, in some of the rural South—particularly in the "black belt" counties — threats, violence and official foot-dragging present serious physical obstacles to voting by Negro citizens.

Yet the plain truth is that Negroes themselves are in no small part to blame for their failure to realize their voting potential. Whereas the number of Negroes on the South's voting lists surged dramatically in the first years after the demise of the white primary (in Georgia alone, some 125,000 registered within a few months' time), it soon reached a virtual plateau. The net increase since 1952 is little more than 200,000. This is true even though more and more of the South's Negroes live in cities, where they encounter little or no official opposition to registering. A recent pre-mayoralty primary registration drive in Atlanta, sponsored jointly by long-standing Negro voter organizations and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, fell far short of its goal despite an enormous pool of qualified Negroes and the "complete cooperation" of the Fulton County registrar.

IN SPITE of this pessimistic current history, there are signs that the most spectacular and significant gains in Negro voting in history are in the offing.

For one thing, the Negro leadership is learning the hard lesson of organization. "We were naive enough," one Negro leader summed it up, "to believe that with the increased interest in civil rights, Negroes would just go out and register on their own without any prodding."

The Atlanta registration drive, for instance, might well have succeeded had it started earlier. Only after the drive was publicly announced did its leadership settle to the grinding task of setting up a block organization where it was needed most: in the lower and lower-middle income neighborhoods. (Despite its weight in Atlanta elections, the Negro vote thus far has been concentrated in the upper-middle income groups—what one Negro critic labeled "leading Negroes as distinguished from Negro leaders.") The experience will not be wasted, however: the new organization plans to remain semi-mobilized throughout the year, and hopes to build from its newly established base.

This awareness of the importance of organization probably will receive more concrete recognition in the near future through a concerted South-wide voter-registration drive involving Dr. King's SCLC, the NAACP and other human-rights groups.

A second reason for believing in a coming new wave of Negro voting is the attention now being paid to the question. No responsible Negro leader has ever denied the value of the ballot, although some perhaps have been suspicious of their more conservative white friends' urgings to concentrate on voting. In any case, it is true that other activities have at times obscured the issue. Since the 1954 *Brown* decision, the NAACP has been involved in a deluge of anti-segregation litigation. The energies of the SCLC and the student movements have been drained by the time-consuming planning and execution of nonviolent protests from lunch-counter sit-ins to freedom rides.

"I have always said," Dr. King explained in an interview, "that I think one of the most significant steps the Negro can take is the short walk to the voting booth. Yet it's not a substitute for other things. It's not an either-or proposition, but a both-and."

In fact, Dr. King maintained that the "other things" have made it easier to interest the Negro in the ballot box. They have helped to overcome the "my vote doesn't count" psychology which exists among Negroes "because of the legacy of discrimination and slavery and segregation," according to Dr. King.

ANOTHER evidence of the coming voting breakthrough is perhaps barely discernible outside the South itself, where one comes over the years to appreciate the various nuances of Southern oratory. To the outsider, current Southern political speeches may sound the same as those of ten or twenty years ago, but to the native, they sound more moderate, more flexible.

For instance, Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia, whose reputation on the race issue was once little different from his late father's, is now being accused in some extreme quarters of "selling out to the niggers" for his refusal to use the filibuster in obviously hopeless legislative fights and for failing to insist that Georgia close down its public-school system to prevent desegrega-

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tion. Senator Talmadge, like many another Southern Congressman, is clever enough to read the handwriting on the wall and politician enough not to talk himself into a corner.

If the handwriting were not already large enough, the Justice Department has been engraving it in six-foot letters. Several times as many voting-rights suits against Southern registrars have been filed during the first eight months of the Kennedy Administration as were instituted in the three previous years of the 1957 voting law's existence. Only the most intransigent Southern politician can fail to be impressed by this; a man who is any politician at all is already planning how to survive when the Negro vote becomes important, perhaps decisive, in his constituency.

LEGAL or moral arguments aside, there is cold political logic on the side of the Administration's energy. The pure mathematics of the 1960 squeaker requires the Democratic Party not only to hold on to as much of its previous vote as possible, but also to expand its support to provide a cushion for the inevitable drop-off. If the Administration is after new voters, it can find no greater unexplored territory than in the South.

In last fall's election, the voter turnout, by state, ranged from Idaho's 80.7 per cent of the civilian population of voting age to Mississippi's 25.6 per cent. The eleven states with the poorest turnout were all Southern. Who are these non-voters? Obviously, a great number are white, largely because of the voter apathy created by a long history of one-party dominance. But proportionately, an even greater number of Negroes are unregistered and non-voting. While up-to-date data are not in all cases available, best estimates show that the percentage of voting-age Negroes who are registered runs from a low of 5.2 per cent in Mississippi to a high of 62.7 per cent in Tennessee. In all the old Confederacy states except Texas, the percentage of registered whites is far higher.

If Negroes were to register and vote in proportion to whites in the

Parker

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

South, it would mean that they would have 42 per cent of the voting strength in Mississippi, 34.8 in South Carolina, 31.8 in Louisiana, 30.3 in Alabama, 29.4 in Georgia, 24.5 in North Carolina, 20.8 in Arkansas, 20.6 in Virginia, 17.8 in Florida, 16.4 in Tennessee and 7.1 in Kentucky.

What all this adds up to—pegged on the big "if" of getting them registered—is that Negroes could wield a bigger stick in Dixie politics than in the Northern brand. "If we can get a sizable number of Negro voters, we will be able to change the structure of politics in this country," Dr. King predicted. "More men of good will will be elected in the South. This will weaken the coalition in Congress and automatically improve the chances of liberal legislation. A number of Southern members of Congress will have an opportunity to take a position on things they already believe, but are afraid to support."

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, King's lieutenant in the SCLC, foresees the possibility of electing eight or ten Negro Congressmen from the South within the next fifteen years or so.

SUCH prospects inevitably have led to speculation about a Negro third party; a related question is whether any one person can control or lead the growing Negro vote, either through a party structure or informally.

The practical obstacles in the way of a Negro party appear insurmountable and, in the eyes of many, its potential danger to the Negroes' cause is considerable. Even were Negroes able to overcome local leadership rivalries to form a party, they would still risk isolating themselves further from the mainstream of American politics and intensifying the feeling of Negro-white differences. Many observers believe that if Negro goals are well articulated and are supported by a united Negro electorate, then one major party or the other, and before long both, will be forced to adopt them.

Negro leadership, then, boils down to the question of who is most clearly stating—and setting—the goals and unifying the Negro masses. The man who most nearly fills this bill would seem to be Dr. King. His influence extends far beyond his immediate sphere of action. In June, for instance, he addressed a "freedom rally" at the Sports Arena in Los Angeles. Sponsors were hoping for an attendance of 12,000; fifteen minutes before the rally was scheduled to begin, the fire department ordered the doors closed after 18,000 had jammed inside. Another 10,000 showed up, of whom at least half remained outside, listening to the four-hour proceedings on the public-address system.

A CLOSE associate recently said, "When they [the Kennedy Administration] want to know how Negroes feel about something, they call Martin." This may be an over-simplification, but it is true that Dr. King's influence with his own race is highly respected by white politicians. The dignitaries on the platform of the Los Angeles rally included California's Governor Edmund Brown. New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, after declaring at the National Governors Conference in Honolulu that civil rights was the paramount moral issue in American politics, met with Dr. King to discuss the issue at length. And, of course, the political benefits which flowed to John Kennedy last November as a result of Dr. King's temporary imprisonment in Georgia are well known.

The nonviolent movement, of which Dr. King has become the symbol, has achieved considerable progress and influence thus far without becoming directly aligned with either

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party. Dr. King himself endorsed no candidate in 1960, and he is clearly undecided whether to become identified with either party in the future. For the time being, his political activity will be limited largely to voter registration. The major emphasis will be in cities, "where tangible gains are possible." But the nonviolent technique—in the form of registration-office "stand-ins"—will be utilized to dramatize the plight of Negroes in rural areas.

DR. KING is not worried that Negroes will be at a loss to know, without overt guidance, which candidates to support. "They're going to vote for the candidates who stand most forthrightly for human rights," he said. Neither is he concerned, as are some writers, that even if Negroes register in large numbers in the South, they will have no one to vote for in state races. Registration "will inevitably have an impact," he contended, and either incumbents will see the light, or new candidates with better vision will come forward.

"I have followed a non-partisan course," Dr. King concluded. "This doesn't mean that I am not interested in politics. I am intensely interested in politics, and maybe I will have to change some day. But I feel that someone must remain in the position of nonalignment, so that he can look objectively at both parties and be the conscience of both—not the servant or master of either."

If civil rights is destined, as Governor Rockefeller contends, to become the nation's paramount moral issue, then Dr. King's cause probably can best be served if he remains nonaligned. As a speaker, he is superb. As an articulator of nonviolent direct action, his effectiveness cannot be challenged. But his philosophical bent and his gentleness of nature make him not the best of administrators, and he has tended to leave the work of organization to others.

The best guess at this time is that he will remain the "conscience of both, not the servant or master of either."

Supreme Court's Changing Interest . . . *by Leo Pfeffer*

IT WAS AFTER six o'clock in the evening on Monday, June 12, 1961, that the Supreme Court finished reporting its last decision of its 1960-1961 term. The decision was a unanimous ruling that the State of Maryland could not Constitutionally require public officials to take an oath that they believe in the existence of God.

In a sense, this was symbolic. During the completed term, the Court had handed down 120 decisions in which opinions were written. Of these, fifty-four, or some 45 per cent, were concerned with civil rights and civil liberties. The startling significance of this percentage becomes apparent when it is compared with that of the 1935-36 term—twenty-five years ago—when the Court handed down 160 decisions in which opinions were written; of these, only *two* were in the area of civil rights and liberties.

So radical has this change been that it can be fairly described as revolutionary. The cause of the revolution was the apparently unsuccessful Roosevelt Court-reform plan of 1937. The 1935-1936 term was the last one before Roosevelt's Court-reorganization proposal was presented to Congress. While Congress rejected its essentials, the proposal nevertheless effected a profound change in the philosophy of the Court and in the nature of its caseload—a change that has seen cases affecting Constitutional freedoms comprise a progressively greater proportion of the Court's work over the past quarter-century.

It may be noted that while the Court's increasing concern in this area began under a Democratic President, Roosevelt, and continued under President Truman, another Democrat, the majority of the Justices who handed down the fifty-four Constitutional-liberties decisions during the 1960-1961 term were appointed by Republican President Eisenhower. This indicates that the revolution in the Court does not depend on the party in power. Rather it appears to be a permanent development, or at least one whose termination lies in the indefinite future.

In view of the radical nature of the change, one might suggest that there have been in reality two Supreme Courts. The first, which came to an end in 1936, had as its chief architect John Marshall, and was fashioned by him to be the supreme protector of property rights and to safeguard commerce, industry and finance from hostile legislatures, state and federal. The second Court, which has developed during the past quarter-century, has abandoned this role and has become the nation's guardian of the liberties of the people.

The 1935-1936 term of the Supreme Court ended on June 1, 1936. The last decision announced by the Court on that day was *Morehead v. Tipaldo* (298 U.S. 587), a 5-4 decision declaring unconstitutional the New York minimum-wage law for women. That day marked the end of an era and that decision the last chapter in the history of the Court fashioned by John Marshall. Since that day, the Supreme Court has never declared a state or federal social-welfare measure unconstitutional.

Since the Court controls its own calendar and decides for itself which cases it will accept for consideration, it is clear that its revolutionary role has been voluntarily assumed.

Of course, the fact that the Court accepts a Constitutional-liberties case does not mean that it will decide it in favor of the person claiming that his rights were infringed. During the 1960-1961 term, 27 of

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the decisions upheld the claim and in 23 it was rejected (four of the 54 cases are too complex to be thus simply classified). It must, however, be remembered that Constitutional-liberties cases usually come to the Court after all other courts which have passed on the cases have rejected the Constitutional claim. Thus, the fact that 54 per cent of the decisions of the Supreme Court were favorable to the person claiming violation of his rights takes on added significance and emphasizes the role of the Court as the ultimate guardian of American liberties.

ONE OF THE most striking features of the 1960-61 term was the large number of cases involving internal security and the fact that the majority of these were decided by identical 5-4 votes.

The Court's record in this field contrasted sharply with its handling of cases involving racial segregation and discrimination, where almost all cases in recent years (and all this last year) have been decided favorably to the person seeking Constitutional relief. With regard to internal-security cases, the onset of the cold war and the McCarthy era saw the launching of a series of Court decisions reflecting the nation's intense concern with the problem of Communist subversion. This period saw decisions upholding the loyalty-oath provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, the conviction of Communists under the Smith Act, and state loyalty programs. (The Supreme Court cannot be too far ahead—nor too far behind—American public opinion.)

With the disappearance of McCarthy from the political scene and the temporary easing of the cold war, there came a definite amelioration of the intense concern with internal security. This, too, was reflected in the Supreme Court's civil-liberties decisions. During the 1956-1957 term, eleven decisions in this field were handed down and every one of them was favorable to civil liberties. This was the period in which the Court held that the states have no power to enact internal-security legislation, forbade dismissal of state employees for pleading the Fifth Amendment in loyalty probes, restricted prosecutions under the Smith Act, and curbed the power of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to punish recalcitrant witnesses.

During the past two years (again reflecting a hardening of American-Soviet relations) there has been a severe reaction from this libertarianism in the Supreme Court. In the 1959-1960 term, five internal-security cases were decided by the Court, and every one was decided adversely to the claim of Constitutional liberty. During the last term, the situation from the civil-liberties viewpoint improved somewhat: of the sixteen internal-security decisions handed down, six were decided favorably. Thus, almost two-thirds of the internal-security cases during the 1960-1961 term were decided adversely to the claim of Constitutional liberty, as compared to other (non-political) criminal proceedings where the proportion is almost reversed (eleven favorable to seven unfavorable).

THE POLARITY of the Court was most apparent in internal-security cases. Of the fifty civil-liberties cases, fifteen were decided by votes of 5-4; of these fifteen, ten involved internal security. Nine of the ten cases were decided unfavorably to the claim of civil liberties and in every one of them the majority consisted of Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Harlan, Stewart and Whittaker, and the minority of Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan. In the tenth case, Justice Stewart voted to uphold the claim and thus swung the majority.

Only once in the fifty cases did Justice Douglas vote against sustaining the claim of infringement of Constitutional liberties (he went along with six other Justices in holding that a federal judge could sentence summarily a recalcitrant witness before a grand jury to a two-year sentence for contempt without the need for a trial by jury or other due process protections available in ordinary criminal trials). Justice Black voted 45 times in favor of the Constitutional claim, Chief Justice Warren 44 times and Justice Brennan 41 times. There is then a sharp break with the record of the remaining five Justices: Stewart, 28 favorable and 22 unfavorable; Harlan, 21 and 28 (once not participating); Frankfurter 19 and 30 (once not participating); Clark and Whittaker, both 19 and 31.

Fifteen of the fifty cases were decided unanimously—all favorably to the asserted Constitutional claim. If these are put aside, we find that on the average the Douglas-Black-Warren-Brennan quartet voted 29 3/4 times favorably to civil liberties and 5 1/4 times unfavorably, while the average for the Stewart-Harlan-Frankfurter-Clark-Whittaker quintet was 6 1/5 favorably and 28 2/5 unfavorably to civil liberties.

A number of important advances in Constitutional liberties were made during the year. Prominent among these were:

Acceptance by the Supreme Court, for the first time in its history, of a complaint charging gerrymandering to deprive citizens of the right to vote.

A unanimous decision invalidating a state law requiring an expression of belief in the existence of God as a condition to public employment and reaffirming the broad principle of separation of church and state.

A decision invalidating a conviction based on evidence obtained through the use of an electronic eavesdropping device.

A decision holding that evidence obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable searches and seizures may not be used in state courts.

On the other side of the ledger were:

A 5-4 decision upholding the Constitutionality of the registration requirement of the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act.

A 5-4 decision upholding the "membership" clause of the 1940 Smith Act.

A 5-4 decision upholding the power of the government to bar an employee from government property on grounds of security without a hearing or even a specification of the conduct leading to the bar.

A 5-4 decision upholding the power of a state to license and censor motion pictures in advance of public exhibition.

An 8-1 decision upholding the Constitutionality of Sunday Blue Laws.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Relevance of Some Russians

ROOTS OF REVOLUTION. A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia. By Franco Venturi. Alfred A. Knopf. 850 pp. $12.75.

W. S. Merwin

JUST before ten o'clock in the morning, on the third of April, 1881, a tiny cross-section of Russian society got out of a cart after a ride through St. Petersburg. There were five of them. One peasant, one laborer, one son of a Greek Orthodox priest, one member of the middle class. And one woman, an aristocrat, the daughter of a former governor of St. Petersburg. All of them were wearing loose black smocks and placards that read *Regicide.* After his arrest the member of the middle class had been overcome with remorse and had decried his part in the Czar's assassination, saying that he was just a peaceful Socialist at heart. All the others embraced one another and turned to the scaffold. "Then," as Franco Venturi puts it in his succinct style, "they were hanged."

Behind them lay two traditions. There was that of the Russian autocracy, with its succession of absolute monarchs, its nobles concerned with keeping what they could, and its wretched and brutalized populace. And there was the tradition of revolt (not of protest, because the system allowed for none) which in Russia had never ceased to hark back to the peasant risings led by Pugachev and Stenka Razin in the eighteenth century, though its real starting point was in the amateurish and abortive insurrection staged in December, 1825, by the group of liberal-minded aristocrats who came to be remembered as the Decembrists.

In fact, the Decembrists' revolt had had no successor, and the punitive measures which had followed it had virtually stamped out political or social interest within Russia for a generation. But the background of the Decembrists' rebellion had contained many of the elements which were to be developed in the Russian revolutionary movement during the next half century. Their attempt had been preceded by a decade and more of secret societies, made up largely of Army officers, in which social changes and the means of attaining them were under continual discussion. Some of the changes envisaged and many of the means proposed were to be returned to again and again before the end of the century. Nikita Muravyov, for example, who had drawn up a constitution modeled on the American one, hoped to see it adopted as the result of a long program of peaceful propaganda. The method proposed, if not the end in view, was in substance that favored by the Lavrovists and the Chaikovskists fifty years later. Pavel Pestel, on the other hand, envisaged a totalitarian welfare state based on universal suffrage, and he planned to bring it into being through the use of totally dedicated professional terrorists who would begin by assassinating the entire royal family. Obviously this direct, if not exactly simple, procedure, would be bruited later: by Tkachev, Nechaev and quite a few others.

But Pestel's most notable contribution concerned ends, not means: he recognized that the serfs, when freed, would have to have land, a fact which now seems obvious but which eluded many who addressed themselves to the problem during the next decades. Not only did he work out a system of land redistribution, but he was at pains to base it on the traditional institutions and customs of the Russian village. Long after Pestel was executed, these ideas of his, as well as the example of self-sacrifice set by him and other Decembrists, were cherished by the father of Russian Populism, Alexander Herzen.

IT IS with Herzen, and Herzen's admiration of the Decembrists, that Mr. Venturi's history starts. The conviction that the germ of a Russian utopia already existed in the peasants' indigenous social-economic institutions, and that, given the right circumstances and the right encouragement, the peasants themselves would be able to throw off the current corrupt and unjust sys-

W. S. MERWIN, now working in the south of France, has recently traveled widely in the United States, gathering material for a long narrative poem on the American Populist uprising of the 1890s, known as Coxey's Army.

The Circus of the Dead

i.m.P.A.T. ob. 1960

He discovers himself on an old airfield
late in the afternoon. He thinks he was there before,
many years ago when he was a young man.
He can see through the walls of a hangar.
Rain has washed out the lettering of a sign.
A single biplane, all struts and wires,
stands in the long grass and wildflowers.
He pulls himself into the narrow cockpit
although his muscles are stiff,
and sits like an egg in a nest of canvas.
He sees that the machine gun has rusted.
The glass over the few instruments
has broken, and the red arrows are gone
from his gas gauge and his altimeter.
When he looks up, he sees that his wooden
propellor is moving, though no one snapped it.
He lets out the throttle. The engine backfires
and the propellor spins into the wind.
He bumps over holes in the grass,
and he remembers to pull back on the stick
which his hand clenches, and he rises
from the land in a high bounce, and climbs higher.
He looks downward and circles the airfield.
It is nearly dusk. Far off he sees red sunlight
catch on the wings of wheeling biplanes
like fire. He banks and flies to join them.

Donald Hall

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tem and substitute another, based on their own customs, which would abolish want and provide economic security for everyone—this was the heart of Populist doctrine. If it was not first conceived by Herzen, he, among the first, spent his life giving it coherence, breadth and influence. In so doing he drew on all the corpus of Western social-economic thought of the generations before his, as well as the best elements of the Russian Slavophil tradition. From the end of the 1840s onward he worked from exile, publishing several periodicals which were smuggled back into Russia and which had a profound effect on his own generation and on part of that which followed.

Another of the great figures of the movement from its inception was Michael Bakunin, the founder of anarchism, who believed that the Russian people were ready for revolt at any time and needed only to have the spark set to the powder train. He was a friend of Herzen and they were closely associated at different times. Bakunin's influence on Populism continued for a good many years after Herzen's had waned.

In the late fifties Chernyshevsky emerged as one of the leaders of the first wave of the new generation: an impatient man, who detested any form of compromise, was at odds all his life with his own physical timidity, and was anxious for action and a violent social upheaval. And in the late sixties Tkachev assumed an important place in the movement; he was more of a historical determinist than were most of the other Populists, he was profoundly convinced of the necessity for organization among the revolutionaries, and he insisted that revolutionary activists were not to be held subject to the same moral code as other men, since the end justified whatever means might prove necessary.

Mr. Venturi's summaries of the lives and teachings of these and the other leaders, their relations, the development of their ideas, and their individual importance, are magisterial. But they are only part of the story, and he is quite as telling when he describes the evolutions of the smaller factions, organizations and conditions which went to make up the Populist movement as a whole: the unsuccessful attempts at organizing labor unions, the development of radicalism among the students, the pathetic intellectual crusade of the seventies, in which students and other intellectuals, stirred by a great wave of semi-mystical idealism, "went to the people," descending on the villages to live among the peasants and try to educate them, merge with them, nurse them toward revolution.

The crusade would have died on its own, quite probably, of discouragement and disillusion, if the Czarist police had been less typical of police and had not suppressed it so fiercely and thoroughly. As it was, the government's treatment of these missionaries to their own people, the repressive measures which it came to apply to all dissident activity, and the rigid nature of the regime itself, eventually weaned many of the remaining Populists from the peaceful methods which most of them had believed in and preferred, and persuaded them that only one way was left to them to accomplish anything—terrorism. The account of the different strands of experience which led up to this unwelcome conclusion is at once one of the most admirable and one of the most pertinent parts of Mr. Venturi's book.

I SHOULD point out that *Roots of Revolution* was originally printed in Italian in 1952, and since then has been accepted both by Soviet and Western historians as the definitive history of the Russian Populist movement. In writing this vast study, Mr. Venturi made use of materials in Russia which were not accessible to historians before him, and the range of documentary evidence which he drew on for this volume is enormous. For the present edition, Isaiah Berlin has provided an illuminating introduction, placing the Populist movement in its context and indicating to some extent its relation to subsequent history. The question, at the moment at least, would seem to be not so much the excellence of the present account—that can be taken for granted—as the relevance of the Populist movement itself.

On the face of it it was a failure. The execution of those who had taken part in the killing of Alexander II in 1881 was virtually the end of it, and Mr. Venturi declines to continue his narrative beyond that point, through the last days of the movement, punctuated as they were with betrayals and counter-betrayals, and more than ever infested with *agents provocateur* and other low forms. (Though this final flickering of Populism provided one of the most obvious links with later history in the plot to assassinate Alexander III in 1887. One of the chief conspirators, Alexander Ulyanov, executed in May of that year, had a brother who swore to avenge him; in due course he assumed the name of Lenin.) Certainly the movement had not accomplished

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any of the aims for which its participants, for more than forty years, had expended so much labor, intelligence, devotion and courage, and for which so much suffering had been endured and so many lives lost. "Lessons" had been learned: when revolution was tried again in Russia it would be in a manner quite different from anything the Populists had attempted—but what a fearful price had been paid for a grounding in revolutionary tactics! Yet even from the point of view of pure eventuality there was more to it than that: the movement had forced the regime to display its true nature, to choose between reform and reaction. Czarism's response to Populism was, in the long run, its own death warrant.

Still, the final importance of the Populist movement has little to do with the apparent consequences nor even with the fact that certain of the figures thrown up in the course of its development are instantly recognizable as symbols of our age—Nechaev, for instance, the man who was the incarnation of the logic of terrorism, and on whom, though from scanty sources, Dostoevsky modeled the character of Verkhovenski in *The Possessed*. The history of the movement is above all a record of individuals, many of whom would have been remarkable in any circumstances, faced with confusion and injustice, surrounded by suffering, devoting themselves, always at considerable risk, to an effort to discover what, in such a situation, is the duty of a man, what he can live for and if necessary die for, what he can really accomplish for those around him. In the main, the Populists were struggling to create values in a world without them, and any such attempt, it seems, is quite likely to fail. But if the account of it is ever really irrelevant, then surely everything else is too.

News from Strawberry Hill

HORACE WALPOLE. By Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis. Pantheon Books. 215 pp. 72 ill. $6.50.

A Hyatt Mayor

MOST books that expound a subject simply and entertainingly are written by people who are less than great authorities. That is a pity because it takes long reflection on comprehensive knowledge to come up with a simple and true summation. This book on Walpole has been done the right way: it sums up the experience of an author who has spent his life in collecting Walpole's letters and possessions, in gathering all possible information about him and his times, and in editing his immense correspondence with immaculate erudition. No one will ever know Walpole so thoroughly, or understand him in such a human way, as does Mr. Lewis.

Horace Walpole was worth Mr. Lewis' years of effort, not because he was a genius (for he wasn't), but because fortune placed him at the center of power in the urbane and human age which he determined to record for us by accumulating eye-witness accounts. Something less than half of his letters have survived, but the more than 4,000 that we do have, plus his extensive memoirs, are enough to enable one historian to say that "the history of England throughout a very large segment of the eighteenth century is simply a synonym for the works of Horace Walpole." Mr. Lewis rounds out the picture by saying that "Horace Walpole is the man who brought the art of letter-writing to the highest point it has reached in our language. He is also the pioneer historian of the fine arts in England, a major figure in the revival of Gothic architecture and in the history of the Gothic novel. He is the chief source for the study of mid-eighteenth century politics in England. We learn more about his time from him than from any other person."

MANY of our daily surroundings would be slightly different had it not been for Walpole's stimulus. His fantastic, cozy, endlessly diverting house at Strawberry Hill caused an international stir that ultimately affected our own Grace Church and the Hudson River Bracketed. His experimental Gothic novel *The Castle of Otranto* created the mood of delicious chills and exhilarating "gloomth" for our whodunnits. And the breezy talk of his letters set our epistolary style almost as much as Mme de Sévigné set the style for the French.

Mr. Lewis possesses more knowledge of this lively, creative observer and his friends than one can have about one's living friends today. He knows these eighteenth-century people in the whole stretch of their lives, interprets each act in the light of before and after, and is in the secret of what they thought about one another and about themselves. This is an intimacy that we cannot achieve with our own parents and children, and it is an intimacy that no future historian can have with any of us today because we telephone instead of writing the ceaseless, chatty, revealing letters that kept eighteenth-century men and women in touch across toilsome roads and the lordly solitude of country seats. Our novelists and playwrights of today will survive by their works but, as men, will be almost as faceless and voiceless as the man Shakespeare. The rest of us will dwindle to a few curling and fading snapshots.

Incidentally, the price of this book can hardly pay for the cost of printing so many handsome illustrations on such generous pages of good paper.

A. HYATT MAYOR is Curator of Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Second Impressions

Review of Paperbacks

Robert M. Wallace

Natural History

THE thirteen titles inaugurating Anchor's Natural History Library, jointly sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History, span the years from John Bartram's pioneering work in colonial America to Admiral William Jameson's studies of the Wandering Albatross in the 1950s. Several of the first group could have profited by more thorough editing and some changes of illustrations, especially the maps, but all combine sound observation with popular appeal. *The Mountains of California* by John Muir ($1.25) and *The Exploration of the Colorado River* by John Wesley Powell (95c) exhibit these virtues and have a historical appeal as well.

Muir and Powell were unspecialized naturalists of an old school. In addition, Powell was an almost incredible adventurer. He lost an arm in the Civil War but still in 1869 led the first expedition through the canyons of the Green and Colorado Rivers, shot the rapids and climbed the walls and pinnacles. He was a determined, restless, cantankerous man, perhaps the only sort who could have carried through this vigorous campaign, as he called it. Because of the example he set, heroic exertions became routine.

Powell's spare and abrupt diary is a moving document, full of human feeling. By the eighth week out, one of his dozen companions, after being wrecked,

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had seen enough of danger and left the expedition. "He was a faithful man," Powell wrote, with never a hard word. There were none later, even when the diary changed tone down river. Six more weeks of increasingly oppressive isolation in the depths of the gorge brought the party to the head of the Grand Canyon. For a thousand miles they had ridden fierce water between walls which often made climbing out to the stone plateau as dangerous, perhaps, as the river. Now the severest test was at hand. Powell took stock and found himself apprehensive, full of a vague unease, conscious of being dwarfed by walls three-quarters of a mile high. When three more men left the river rather than attempt a wilder fall and rapid than any yet passed, Powell entrusted them with a letter to his wife, a copy of the expedition records and some personal mementos, then plunged ahead. In a day and a half he emerged from the Grand Canyon, practically at his goal. The three who climbed out were killed by Indians.

The Exploration of the Colorado River is not a scientific treatise but Powell's gripping and matter-of-fact diary of his 1869 expedition with some changes based on that of 1871. *The Mountains of California,* published in 1894, draws on observations made at the same time as Powell's and shares its unprofessionalism. Otherwise, it is greatly different.

Muir was a cosmic optimist most happily established for the time in the meadows of Yosemite. Nothing so abstract as Newton, but tangible nature there demanded the Muse, and *The Mountains of California* is accordingly lyrical. In Muir's eyes the cliffs, meadows, streams, the water ouzel and Douglas squirrel took on human qualities and the mountaineers took on those of their country—both to their own advantage. In all this delightful, bossy grandeur (the terms are Muir's) feathery people and benevolent skies seem appropriate, not so much to elevate nature as to express a feeling that nature is homogeneous and delicious. Here is the spirit from which the conservation movement grew.

Muir's geological ideas, though basically sound, have been revised by specialists like François E. Matthes in *The Incomparable Valley* (California, $1.95, illustrated), but his feeling for the area and the influence he wielded are fully as valuable now as they ever were.

Evolution

The Phenomenon of Man by Teilhard de Chardin, introduction by Julian Huxley (Harper, $1.75). A Jesuit paleontologist's synthetic and sometimes mystical examination of biological and cultural evolution, extrapolating from the data of "homonization" the development of ultra-human species.

Darwin's Century by Loren Eiseley (Anchor, $1.45). A history and analysis, with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century backgrounds, of Darwin's and other evolutionists' work.

The Death of Adam by John C. Greene (Mentor, 75c). A fuller treatment of Darwin's antecedents, emphasizing the shocking character of his and other evolutionists' thought.

Nature and Man's Fate by Garrett Hardin (Mentor, 75c). The dynamics of Darwinian and post-Darwinian evolutionary theory.

Drama

The Classic Theatre, Volume IV (Anchor, $1.45), with six French plays from Corneille's *The Cid* to Beaumarchais' *Figaro's Marriage,* completes a double project by Eric Bentley to supply in paper covers a generally unavailable classic and modern repertory going beyond the standard works. *The Modern Theatre,* in six Anchor volumes, was completed a year ago. In both sets the translations are new or recent and if possible actable. But of course a play can be permanently lively and appealing—a classic—and yet defy profitable performance. What unites the fifty-three plays in Mr. Bentley's ten volumes is that all have been good theatre, even if present tastes keep them off the stage. The clear possibility of choosing an almost equally good second group of fifty-three—given Mr. Bentley's judgment and taste—has fortunately encouraged similar projects. No one has matched him, but others' efforts are an important part of his service.

Four Plays by Calderon (Hill and Wang, $1.95). New, colloquial verse translations by Edwin Honig, including *Secret Vengeance.* Introduction, bibliography.

Five Plays by Jean Cocteau (Hill and Wang, $1.95). Carl Wildman, Charles Frank and Edward O. Marsh translate *Orphée, Antigone, Intimate Relations, The Holy Terrors, The Eagle With Two Heads.*

Ubu Roi by Alfred Jarry (New Directions, $1.65). Barbara Wright's translation of Jarry's eccentric and riotous satire on power in a facsimile of the hand-lettered Gaberbocchus edition with Franciska Themerson's drawings.

Also: *Shakespeare Without Tears* by Margaret Webster (Premier, 50c). *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in*

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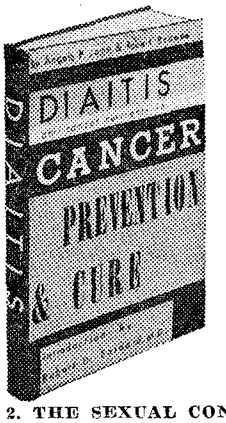

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Waldo Frank, Chairman
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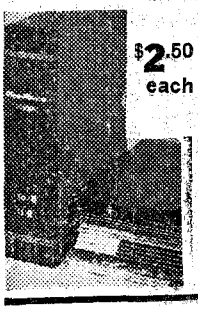

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Miscellaneous

New Lives for Old by Margaret Mead (Mentor, 75c). On the basis of the cultural transformation of Manus, 1928-1953 (see *Growing Up in New Guinea,* 1930) opposes gradualism and argues for quick and thorough social change.

The Second Sex by Simone de Beauvoir (Bantam, 95c). Broad, sensitive study of woman's position today, perhaps excessively influenced by conditions in France.

Weekend in Dinlock by Clancy Sigal (Anchor, 95c). Vividly convincing story of miners and mining in Yorkshire by an incisive American novelist.

Nightwood by Djuna Barns (New Directions, $1.35). The human predicament exhibited in one of the most sensitive and brilliant novels of the 1930s.

Art and Reality by Joyce Cary (Anchor, 95c). A wise, informal, untheoretical examination of an artist's—particularly a novelist's—grasp of the world, his intuition and his production.

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The Thirty Years War by C. V. Wedgwood (Anchor, $1.45). Brilliant narrative and analyses of motives, terrors and effects of Europe's last religious war.

AT YOUR DRUGGIST'S: *Inside the John Birch Society* by Gene Grove (Gold Medal, 50c). *90 Miles from Home: The Face of Cuba Today* by Warren Miller (Crest, 50c). *Great Presidential Decisions: State Papers that Changed the Course of History,* Richard B. Morris, editor (Premier, 95c). *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. DuBois (Premier, 50c). *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* by Alan Bullock (revised edition, Bantam, 95c). *Hitler's Secret Conversations 1941-1944,* introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper (Signet, 75c).

ARCHITECTURE

Walter McQuade

KING ARTHUR drew Excalibur from the stone. In contrast, David Rockefeller, president of The Chase Manhattan Bank, has struck a gleaming aluminum mace into the dark stone of New York's Wall Street.

Seen from the sidewalk, the immense new Chase Manhattan Bank Building is a slab streaking up from the sunless streets of the financial district like light from massed searchlights—to be cut off suddenly, flatly, at a height of 813 feet. It is the sixth tallest building on Manhattan, thus the sixth tallest in the world, but it is even larger than that implies because it does not taper; it is immense all the way to the top.

Like the structure itself, the outlook is very broad. From the glass-walled executive dining room on floor 60, the view to the north, unobstructed, takes in the Hudson River waterfront, the East River waterfront and all of midtown Manhattan's scattered towers—the frivolous section of the island. But downtown is the sight that truly stirs. You look out over New York's refreshing harbor, including endlessly grubby Brooklyn to the left and industrial New Jersey steaming malignly away to the right. Near your knees stands the pure old Statue of Liberty. The white wakes of tiny charging tugboats stitch the choppy waters. Above and below, planes and liners float by. The building has as proprietary an outlook over the financial world as a Rhine castle's command over its stretch of the valley.

Surprisingly, and slightly soberingly, an even taller building stands immediately downtown from Chase. Right before your eyes, a block away, juts the spire of Forty Wall Street, completed in 1929. Aloft, all by itself, it looks like a piece of sculpture, or the roof of a Scandinavian church. It is typical of the skyscrapers of its day, starting big at the street, growing leaner and leaner, frailer and frailer, fancier and fancier, as it stretched for the record. When it was being built, the Chrysler Tower was also going up, and there was rivalry about which would be higher (there were rumors of drawings being smuggled from the respective architects' offices). Although Forty Wall ends in a Christmas tree ornament thrust up on a spike just as far as the wind will permit, Chrysler won by a few feet.

The presence of Forty Wall is the only entertainment in the Chase. If architecture is an indication, power in the 1920s was expressed in a way that was comparatively brash and boyish,

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almost as innocently as in the Statue of Liberty's time. But today, I suppose, we want very much to think we can indicate exactly what we're going to do, then do it. That is the immensely sure spirit of the Chase—an absolute simplification of personality, an industrial purity. The Chase brusquely squares off the romantic old downtown skyline, rearranges the center of gravity of all Wall Street, and is the modern symbol of power. Fortunately, it is also one of finesse.

As everyone has said every time an immense building has been finished, from Cheops' day forward, there won't be any more buildings like this one. Certainly, the commercial builders around town are shaking their heads in disbelief and making jokes about the lavishness of the gesture. When I asked my friendly banker at Chase Manhattan how much the building had cost, he said $136 million, including land. Even the architects of this building, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, bespoke designers to great corporations, have recently shown signs of wavering from the straightness, the sublime simplicity of the cut which has made them famous. For example, their Union Carbide Building, uptown on Park Avenue (to be considered in a future column), does go out hunting for effects. But nothing extraneous was allowed to obscure the two grand ideas behind the Chase Manhattan structure.

Neither of the ideas is brand new. The first is the building's structural system, which this firm first tried on the Inland Steel Building in Chicago, in 1957. Inland Steel and Chase—like the horseshoe crab — are extraskeletal; they carry their bones outside their bodies. Most of the columns which hold up the building are set just outside the window walls, so that each of the two long walls of the building wears a set of huge structural pilasters sheathed in shining sheet metal. From these exterior columns long trusses bridge to the elevator banks in the core of the building, and there are no columns to interrupt the continuous stretch of office space on either side. Or, to be precise, *almost* no columns, because, violating the overall theory of the building, there actually are two interior columns near either end of the building to support the areas beyond the elevator core.

This almost complete absence of columns inside the office space calls for a lot of extra steel in the horizontal framing, and thus is expensive (notice that most cheap speculative office buildings have forests of inside columns). It has the advantage of permitting great flexibility in the use of the interior space. This is valuable in any office building, but particularly appropriate to Chase Manhattan, where, of 7,500 employees in this home office, only 150 have private offices. The 7,350 sit in office pools, which shift and reshape themselves frequently. Besides, a desk can be put where there might have been a column.

THE SECOND big idea in the design of Chase Manhattan is an old Rockefeller specialty, a sidewalk plaza. As in Rockefeller Center, Chase does not occupy its entire site, but spends precious outdoor space to create a pleasant garden deep in the Wall Street stone quarry, with trees, benches, views and sculpture. This plaza is not yet completed, although the building is occupied; a row of old buildings remains to be demolished to open up the space.

Even when it is completed, however, the open plaza will not really rival Rockefeller Center, because it will be as much a first-floor roof garden as a public square. The site of the big building slopes considerably, so a choice had to be made between elevating the plaza at one side or digging it in at the other. The choice was to elevate, placing the entrance to the plaza on the higher ground. This means that the plaza is far above sidewalk level on the other side. The pedestrian, instead of looking down into a skating rink, as in Rockefeller Center, looks up at the parapet of a garden. In the cramped Wall Street area, this diminishes the gesture only slightly, however, for the openness of the site pulls a great deal of unfamiliar daylight, even sunlight, down into the streets. Next summer there will be a new reason for Wall Street men to wear those stiff straw hats.

Also, this plaza was more difficult

Ocean Beach Blues

Lone man walking on the wet sand.
Lone woman lying in the sand dunes.

What's between them?
The huge summer sun.

Lone man walking on the wet sand,
He's afraid of loving a woman.
Lone woman reading in the sand dunes,
She's afraid of lusting for a man.
What's between them?
A gull's cracked bones.

Lone man kneeling on the wet sand.
Lone woman weeping in the sand dunes.
One rough wave flings them together.
What's between them?
The threatening sea.

Helen Adam

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to accomplish than the one in Rockefeller Center. As time passes, humane gestures do seem to become more strenuous. The bank had to purchase what amounts to two blocks of land, and then petition the city to permit them to close one of the streets and make a single large block. They offered, in return, to widen the public streets all around this large block, relocate all utilities at their own expense, and to pay the city $100,000. The city wisely agreed. Land values in the area are almost incredible: Chase Manhattan's two and a half acres was estimated by *Architectural Forum* to be worth almost $10 million per acre; the building itself sits on only about 30 per cent of its plot. I haven't checked, but I would guess that in market value this little park may be worth more than the cost of constructing the original Jones Beach.

The only old building which is to be retained on the new block is a tall one, the former Chase Manhattan headquarters, which was sold to Chemical Bank New York Trust, and is being remodeled to fit the new grandeur of a corner of Chase Manhattan Plaza. I heard recently — again from my friendly Chase banker — that a meeting was held some time ago between officials of the two banks to establish where the new main entrance of Chemical Bank would be. It was agreed that it should open on the plaza, not the street, and then the matter of an address came up. The friendly Chase people offered the friendly Chemical people the right to use the Chase Manhattan Plaza as their mailing address. It would, of course, be number *two* Chase Manhattan Plaza. When last I heard, the Chemical bankers had decided that Pine Street might provide a better address.

ARE THERE any errors in the Chase building? Possibly not, but I feel that one prominent detail leaves a lot to be desired. This involves the eternal difficulty of turning the corner of a design, whether it be a building, an automobile, a ship, or even a chair.

Up above plaza level the long sides of the Chase, with their big structural piers protruding in line, give a feeling of tremendous strength and order. In contrast, the narrow ends of the building are quite bland, because they are suspended out from their pairs of interior columns, and visually absorb them. These narrow ends are thus fairly ordinary in effect, but unimportant above the plaza. At plaza level, however, the pairs of end columns do emerge and become conspicuous. This is because the glass wall of the lobby is pulled in under the main vertical slab of the building, leaving the columns, including the end columns, to stand outside. So far, so good. But the glass wall is much closer to the end-column line than it is to the side-column line, and this creates a strange hesitancy of eye, a discrepancy of design at a crucial place, the corner. The sense of order stumbles, becomes imprecise; confidence falters. Perhaps the glass line (glass, of course, is never invisible in daytime, but strongly reflective) should have been pulled back an equal distance from *all* the columns. This might have been more precisely dramatic, less automatic. I don't know. But I do know that a very obvious aspect of the Chase, the turn of the main-floor corner, does muddy the astringent clearness and coolly triumphant style of the rest of the design.

And the rest of the design goes so very far. There was no stinting of the effort needed to make it all seem easy. These bankers even set aside half a million dollars to be spent on art, to enliven their environment and fight the inevitable bureaucratic haze. They also spent some $18 million on the interiors of their quarters, and bought by far the best large-scale business interior I've ever seen. They must have had chairs in their old quarters, dark wood bankers' chairs. But they didn't move them in; they gave them away to universities (Columbia alone got $407,000 worth). They wanted an entirely designed environment, and got it, at a scale seldom if ever matched in the lengthening history of modern architecture. I had the feeling, walking through their building, that they not only wanted to symbolize their modernity to the public, but also to have the environment work on themselves to keep their spirits young and aggressively efficient.

The glass walls of the Chase lobby look out, directly to the north, on the massively charming stone wall of the Federal Reserve Building across the street—a rusticated masonry with little windows poked in it and iron bars on the windows. The Fed. was a copy of Palazzo Ricardi in Florence (1430 A.D.), and has that full-of-Florins look, in the style also of what Cole Porter called the itty bitty Pitti Palace. This feudal view of finance continues to exert its charm, but we've come a long way forward since then; and by then I mean 1924, when the Fed. was cribbed. The aesthetics of money has advanced.

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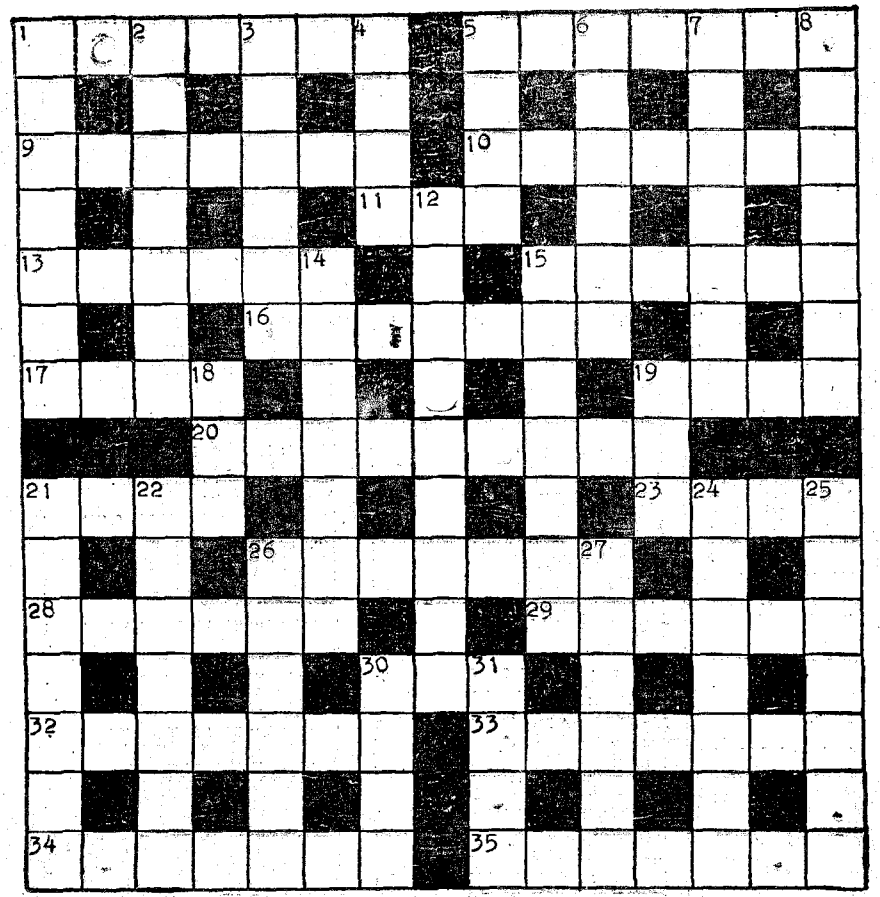
Crossword Puzzle No. 930

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Compile controversial letters? (7)
5 Calm down, if one of Ulysses' girls is about! (7)
9 Are those who are found in less often? (7)
10 Pass around the isinglass — you might find it funny! (7)
11 Animal hopefully acquired by one who is professionally 10. (3)
13 A sort of a sort of a canape. (6)
15 A Kipling hero has on nothing but a robe. (6)
16 Decided to be colonized, or remained adjusted? (7)
17 One who pulls up even in a bank? (7)
19 More than one fish on the same plane as London sole, perhaps! (4)
20 Might be given by one country to another. (9)
21 Rather precise but soft edge. (4)
23 and 4 down Storyville? It has a real sharp quality! (8)
26 Waste food? (7)
28 It's she the theme represents. (6)
29 Land one who comes out with a rather original boat? (6)
30 Law function? (3)
32 Listen, understand, and give heed in the old way! (7)
33 Sure, and it's a queer way to go to pieces! (7)
34 Good and bad, as a string might be untied? (7)
35 A boy in distress with the make-up of a hero? (7)

DOWN

1 and 30 down. Object to the workers being Lutherans, for example? (11)
2 It should be easy to see through such a frame-up job. (7)
3 Natives of Siam or natives of New Zealand. (6)
5 Might one so jibe with a well-known type of turtle? (4)
6 It's clear this is a rather flabby thing ego develops from. (6)
7 Fence. (7)
8 Lemon and chrome, for example. (7)
12 Will probably doesn't get involved with such things. (9)
14 Some institutions have them as part of the staff or crest. (7)
15 and 18 Pan encompasses the spirit of part of the band, obviously! (10)
19 The old square type in Germany? (3)
21 The part of the battery that might hold water? (7)
22 Not quite true of the next C.I.A. shake-up. (7)
24 Assigned Edward a position, possibly. (7)
25 Could this have been written on a lark? (7)
26 Spruce, pine, or any such related species to make a wooden vessel? (6)
27 Take on potential power again. (6)
31 To pack an article missing from a Florida locale? (4)

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BEER 'N BRASS — Bohemian Polkas & Waltzes — Ernst Mosch & His Bohemian Band. Egerland Heimatland; Pestewalzer; Ach, ich liebe dich; and others.
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SO EASY TO LOVE — Werner Müller and His Orchestra. The Hawaiian Wedding Song; It's Not For Me To Say; Easy To Love; Hot Toddy; and others.
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CLASSICAL

Stravinsky: PETRUSHKA—Orchestra de la Suisse Romande—Ernest Ansermet.
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BEETHOVEN OVERTURES: LEONORA No. 3 THE CONSECRATION OF THE HOUSE; EGMONT; FIDELIO; CORIOLAN. London Phil. Orch.—van Beinum.
(29) Mono: B19026

SYMPHONIC MARCHES—Elgar: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCHES Nos. 1-4; London Symphony Orch.— Warwick Braithwaite. Elgar: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCH No. 5. National Symphony Orch.— Sir Malcolm Sargent. Elgar: IMPERIAL MARCH. Meyerbeer: CORONATION MARCH. Saint-Saëns: MARCHE MILITAIRE FRANCAISE. Halvorsen: ENTRY OF THE BOYARDS. London Philharmonic Orch.—Harrison.
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Beethoven: VIOLIN CONCERTO—Ruggiero Ricci—London Phil. O.—Boult.
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Mendelssohn: A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM—INCIDENTAL MUSIC. Schubert: ROSAMUNDE — INCIDENTAL MUSIC—Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam—Eduard van Beinum.
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Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 6—London Philharmonic Orch.— Erich Kleiber.
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Brahms: HUNGARIAN DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Dvorák: SLAVONIC DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 16.— Hamburg Radio Orch.— Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt.
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Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 3—Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—Szell.
(36) Mono: B19050

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 3—"Eroica" Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra—Kleiber.
(37) Mono: B19051

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 7—Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—Kleiber.
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Vivaldi: THE FOUR SEASONS—Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra; Karl Münchinger.
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Beethoven: PIANO CONCERTO No. 5—"Emperor"—Wilhelm Backhaus—V.P.O. —Clemens Krauss.
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Rachmaninoff: RHAPSODY ON A THEME OF PAGANINI. Dohnanyi: VARIATIONS ON A NURSERY TUNE—Julius Katchen, Piano—L.P.O.—Sir Adrian Boult.
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Mozart: REQUIEM IN D MINOR, K. 626—Josef Krips conducting The Vienna Hofmusikkapelle. With Soloists.
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Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 9 "Choral" —Hilde Gueden, soprano; Sieglinde Wagner, contralto; Anton Dermota, tenor; Ludwig Weber, bass. Der Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra—Kleiber.
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(47) Mono: 2 records BA42002

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Bach: ST. MATTHEW PASSION—Complete—Kathleen Ferrier (contralto); Elsie Suddaby (soprano); Eric Green (tenor); Henry Cummings (bass); Gordon Clinton bass); William Parsons (bass); Bruce Boyce (bass); Bach Choir.—The Jacques Orchestra, cond. by Dr. Reginald Jacques.
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Bruckner: SYMPHONY No. 9 IN D MINOR—Hamb. State Symph. Keilberth.
(53) Mono: TC8043 (53S) St. TCS18043

Mozart: CONCERTO IN C FOR FLUTE AND HARP, K. 299—CONCERTO No. 2 FOR FLUTE, K. 314—ANDANTE FOR FLUTE AND ORCHESTRA, K. 315—The Munich Bach-Orch.—Karl Richter.
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